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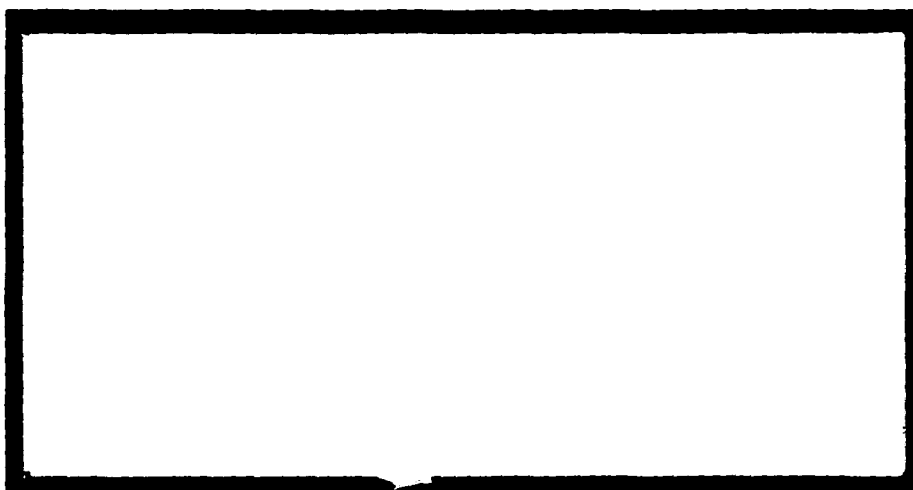
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HISPANICS OF A SAN DIEGO *BARRIO*

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Technical Report No. ONR-23

April, 1983

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER ONR-23	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO. AD-A129608	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) Hispanics of a San Diego barrio		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Interim technical report
		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
7. AUTHOR(s) Louis A. Rojas		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s) N 00014-80-C-0407
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Department of Psychology University of Illinois 603 E. Daniel, Champaign, IL 61820		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS NR 170-906
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS Organizational Effectiveness Research Group Office of Naval Research (Code 442) Arlington, VA 22217		12. REPORT DATE April, 1983
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES 47
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS(If different from Controlling Office)		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report) Unclassified
		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE

16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report)

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17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)

18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

Hispanics, acculturation, work attitudes, barrio

20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

see attached.

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Abstract

Anthropological description to a Hispanic barrio suggests that it
is a network of interdependencies among people that extends well beyond
the physical limits of the neighborhood. It contains unacculturated
Mexican migrants (mostly from Mexican cities), anomic youth, core youth,
as well as acculturated middle class families. It can be a source of
Navy recruitment, but only some of the residents will be sufficiently
acculturated to be suitable for the Navy. Most residents lack work
skills and need assistance to learn how to present themselves to employers.
Observations of the interactions of Hispanic youth in Anglo work groups
suggested that acculturated Hispanics can help unacculturated Hispanics
to function effectively in such groups.

Executive Summary

An anthropological description of a Hispanic barrio is presented that
is based on five months of participant observations in a San Diego, Cal.
barrio. The social life of the barrio includes a great deal of human traffic,
some involving individuals coming from Mexico passing into other regions
of the U.S. The barrio is "less of a physically bounded island and more
like a network of liaisons, and interdependencies among people" (p. 16).

A large proportion of the Mexican immigrants comes from Mexican cities
rather than rural backgrounds. They are a sample of the Mexican industrial
proletariat. Many of these individuals are not found in schools or work
sites, even when they are of the appropriate age. Many are not sufficiently
acculturated to be likely prospects for the U.S. Navy.

Residence in the barrio is not necessarily a mark of socioeconomic status
or degree of acculturation, for middle class and acculturated families some-
times reside there. For acculturated Hispanics the barrio represents one
of their options, as a lifestyle.

Another social type is the cholo. They are marginally acculturated
individuals though some are native born. Young men who adopt this lifestyle
dress in distinct and uniform ways, speak a dialect that is a blend of Spanish,
English and local colloquialisms, prefer Black American music, and are dis-
tinctly group-oriented. The barrio is divided into several sections, each
with its own group of cholo "home boys." Intergroup confrontation and
violence does take place. In the schools the cholos resist formal learning,
bi-cultural and bi-lingual education, and publicly deny mainstream values.

In contrast to the cholos, the core youth of the barrio, looks toward
the larger society more favorably. Yet they do not have extensive work
experience. Most work experience is in unskilled occupations. Work is seen
as a source of income, not as leading to a career. Most of the individuals

in this sample express eagerness to work hard and to have a steady job. A good worker was defined as one who was strong, disciplined, and quick. Non-physical work was perceived in a vague and confused manner. This sample has very limited skills relevant to obtaining a job. They know too little about job searches, interviews, employment agencies, and the like. The Navy could provide an important assistance to these people by training them to present themselves to employers in a more effective manner.

Core youth do not want paternalistic supervisors (unlike the stereotype). In addition, their attitude toward labor unions is not favorable.

The author observed the interaction of some Hispanic youths with Anglos in a temporary job. The Hispanics expressed considerable satisfaction with the work, though it was not skilled. However, the less acculturated individuals in this sample did not socialize much, and did not express as much satisfaction with the work as the more acculturated.

When a single unacculturated Hispanic worked in a particular work group, in response to a question he expressed a preference for an Anglo to a Hispanic boss; but when two or more Hispanics were members of the group, or when they were acculturated Hispanics, they preferred a Hispanic boss. It may be that a single Hispanic merges into the group, and the Hispanic-Mainstream dimension does not become salient; two or more Hispanics make the dimension salient and then a Hispanic boss is seen as more desirable.

The Navy might benefit by placing the less acculturated Hispanics in workgroups with the more acculturated, since that will facilitate the work adjustment of the less acculturated.

The barrio can be a source of Navy recruitment. However, one must expect more diversity in that setting than in other settings where Hispanics reside.

Hispanics of a San Diego Barrio

Louis Rojas, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

There exists a substantial literature concerning the social and psychological dimensions of the Hispanic ethnic enclaves in North America. Gamio (1930) provides one of the earliest nonpolemic, yet sympathetic, descriptions of the historical circumstances and contemporary conditions of the movement of Mexicans into the United States. Florence Kluckhohn (1950, 1953, 1956) focused on comparative ideological and value orientations in her studies of Mexican-Americans (or, more accurately perhaps, of Spanish-Americans) living in the Southwestern United States. Achor (1978), in a brief review of social science literature dealing with Mexican-Americans, notes that in the post World War II era, this "normative" and "configurationalist" emphasis in ethnic enclave anthropology has had significant, if sometimes misleading, influence.

> Because many observers stressed a high degree of internal homogeneity and cultural conservatism among Mexican Americans, the type construct of a modal Mexican American character was considered representative of the entire ethnic group. It thus has been used to describe large segments of the urbanized population, especially those who occupy lower socioeconomic strata and remain segregated in ethnic neighborhoods. According to the prevailing framework, the few Mexican Americans who achieved high socio-economic status were acculturated, i.e., they had accepted Anglo middle-class norms and rejected traditional values. The covert implication, which runs like a unifying thread through much of the literature, is that Mexican American values are dysfunctional in a progressive and competitive economy, and that their retention is chiefly responsible for impeding this ethnic group's advancement in the larger American society (1978: 161-162).

Achor further argues that the "cultural idealism" or "ideational" paradigm has resulted in several intellectual and interpretive problems. The search for, and description or construction of, a modal Mexican-American character type has tended to stress the homogeneous aspects of the group's culture and not fully appreciate the significance of individual and regional diversities within the group. Further, the degree to which a Mexican-American

individual is seen to be "successful" within the Anglo-American mainstream culture is viewed as a measure of acculturation, that is, of adaptation to Anglo norms. Implicitly, it is understood that a Mexican-American's achievement in the Anglo world is the result of his assuming Anglo attitudes, and not the result of the successful application of Mexican or Mexican-American values within the mainstream context.

Vaca (1970a, 1970b) points out the socio-political ramifications of these normative research paradigms: popular mainstream ideology maintains that it is the _foreign_ culture or enclave which must accommodate itself to North American lifestyles; the significance of the broader socioeconomic context of the Mexican and American societies--particularly the conditions of social injustice, political exclusion, and economic marginality--is minimized; and the often exploitative aspects of some North American institutions are viewed as only marginally relevant to the "Mexican problem."

More recent research in Mexican-American ethnicity seem to have more ably responded to the criticisms of writers like Achor and Vaca. Although at times a bit polemic in attitude, the historical and social scientific scholarship represented in Helm (1968), Steiner (1969), Servin (1970), Acuna (1972) Lopez y Rivas (1973), Tyler (1975), and Trejo (1979) are noteworthy for their attention to the contextual portrayal of long-term economic exclusion or marginality, of rigid class stratification for most Mexican immigrants, of social alienation due to language and educational "deficiencies," and of the psychological stress associated with demands of an ever-modernizing mainstream culture.

Two works of particular relevance here are Shirley Achor's (1978) anthropological study of a Dallas _barrio_ and Albert Camarillo's (1979) historical description of several _barrios_ in Southern California. Achor's work is especially significant for several reasons. While other writers (for example,

Dozier, 1969; Rubel, 1966) have called attention to the social significance
of the predominantly urban residence patterns of Mexican-Americans, Achor
attempts to more carefully delineate a more-or-less bounded social and
territorial enclave, the barrio (actually one of several extant), in Dallas.
Further, her description of the "barrio setting" necessarily includes an
accounting of the various and complex nexi of contact and exchange with the
larger Anglo- (and, to a lesser extent, Black-) dominated city of Dallas.

Of more importance is Achor's effort to treat the attitudinal and be-
havioral diversity of the Mexican-American residents of the barrio. Instead
of a single "type of Mexican-American character" or a single complex of
Mexican-American values, she finds four fundamental modes or strategies of
cultural adaptation. These strategies reflect the "variation in perception,
evaluation and exploitation of environmental resources."

The first strategy is that of insulation (a "defensive structuring in
the barrio"), typical of the majority of the Dallas barrio residents, and
characterized by a perception of the non-barrio world as hostile, and of
the barrio as a place of refuge, support, and relatively easy access to
necessary resources. The larger city is seen as alien territory; knowledge
of the Dallas geography, socioeconomic complexity, and bureaucratic workings
is limited. Spanish is the preferred language of the insulationists. All
primary relationships develop within the barrio. Socio-political behavior
is generally limited and conservative, and decidedly non-confrontational.

> Although lacking information about Dallas, insulationists know
> a great deal about La Bajura (the barrio studied) through their
> greater reliance upon the barrio's resources. Even very young
> children are apt to know the names of every family living on
> their block. And most adults are keenly aware of their neighbors'
> life histories, individual personality traits, and kinship and
> social ties.

> The resources of the barrio are primarily social, although
> friends and relatives can also provide helpful economic and
> technical aid. Of greatest value are the emotional and psy-
> chological rewards of close-knit family relationships, and

supportive interaction among people with whom one feels at ease. Such an ambience allows the individual a sense of dignidad (dignity) and self-respect that is frequently denied him in other surroundings. A person's merit in La Bajura is not dependent upon such Anglo standards of success as wealth, education, or occupational prestige. If a man conducts himself in socially acceptable ways, does the best he can for the support of his family, and refrains from disruptive behavior, it matters little whether he is a janitor or a sales clerk, a third-grade dropout or a high-school graduate. In the eyes of the community, he is still entitled to respect, and a position of equality with its other members ....

It thus seems clear that a major element of the insulationist strategy is to minimize risk-taking in barrio relations with the dominant community. The reluctance to engage in actions which might offend powerful Anglos tends to preserve the existing social, economic, and political arrangements of the dominant society institutions. The major adaptive advantage of insulation lies in its utility as an effective stress-reduction mechanism. By capitalizing on the emotional and psychological resources of the barrio, this strategy enables insulationists to better cope with their urban environment. It gives them little opportunity, however, to significantly alter inimical features of the larger urban sociocultural system (1978 p.117, 121).

Achor's second adaptive strategy is accommodation. "For those following the path of 'accommodation,' barrio residence is viewed not as a permanent solution, but only as a temporary expedient. It serves as a way station on a course geared to achieve social and economic advancement beyond the confines of the ethnic community" (1978, p.121). The city is understood as a place of opportunity. The energies and resources of social interaction and personal development flow outward from the barrio into the relevant institutions or networks of the city. Education and effective social or work performance are seen as the keys to this acculturation strategy. Personal interaction with Anglos is frequent and necessary; primary relationships are often established with mainstream partners. Values concerning family organization, sex roles, religion, and socio-political activity become—with the proper encouragement from Anglos, presumably—more in tune with those of the mainstream. Ethnicity is de-emphasized, and the more blatantly agringado (literally, "gringo-ized") accommodationists deny most significant ties to

Mexican or Mexican-American culture or groups. Achor suggests that the success rate for this assimilation mode is necessarily limited. Presumably, either the Anglo systems and institutions can accept but a small portion of the Mexican-American aspirants, or relatively few of those who attempt to "cross the tracks" carry with them sufficient social or technical skills for full acceptance.

The third strategy, mobilization, Achor suggests, is at least partially born of frustrated accommodationist attempts. For the most part the mobilizationists are Mexican-American barrio residents who have spent extended and useful time in the Anglo world, have garnered a variety of attitudes and skills relevant to the effective organization of human resources and to the efficient utilization of mainstream institutions, and who have decided to re-focus their energies on the needs and development of the barrio or on a more abstract loyalty to the ethnic group. Systematization and cooperation among ethnic group members and Anglos are here the most important values and skills. Simply stated, the mobilizationists attempt to use mainstream Anglo organizational practices to accomplish gains for the barrio from the larger society.

> Mobilizationists actively cultivate ties beyond the barrio as well as preserving established local relationships. In a sense, their strategy involves a pursuit of biculturalism. They seek to become effective in the Anglo world, while maintaining primary allegiance to and identification with the barrio community.

> Confrontations with the Anglo power structure often require sophisticated political finesse and strategy. Barrio activists are developing abilities to compromise, to "horse-trade," and to manipulate competing interest groups. Through experience and the example of Black militants, mobilizationists have learned, too, that the threat of possible barrio violence can be a powerful persuader--even if the likelihood for its actuation is remote. Such suggestions are counterbalanced with emotionally phrased appeals to the establishment's professed values of justice and equity. In the words of one local leader: "There is a moment to smile--and a moment not to smile" (Achor 1978, p.128).

Achor does not offer detailed descriptions of particular mobilizationists, but we can assume that a good portion of their Anglo-world experience is in

various kinds of educational systems. One of the issues raised in this regard

concerns the source of social or ethnic consciousness. In simplest terms, the

questions revolve around the comparative roles of the intellectual centers

(for example, universities and humanistic/artistic centers) and the barrio

streets in the emergence strong ethnic-oriented sentiment. These issues will

be treated in a related context later in this paper.

Achor's fourth reaction mode, alientation, is not to be considered an

adaptive strategy so much as a relatively uncontrollable reaction to the often

grim circumstances of barrio life.

> Intense and prolonged environmental stress have so overwhelmed
> some barrio residents that they have become deeply alienated from
> both the barrio and the Anglo social worlds. For these individ-
> uals and families, crisis episodes recur with such rapid regu-
> larity that they become almost expected as ordinary life conditions.
> Somewhere in the process, community norms and standards of conduct
> become irrelevant in a day-to-day struggle for mere survival.

> Feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, and estrangement
> can lead the alienated to aberrant social behavior. For some,
> family life is severely disrupted. A man beats his wife and
> sexually abuses his own child; a mother sprays a baby with aerosol
> propellant to keep it from crying; a pregnant daughter vanishes
> in the city. For others, alcoholism or drug addiction offer
> avenues to welcom oblivion, or armed robbery a path to economic
> subsistence (Achor 1978, p. 130).

Domestic organization in households of alienated persons tend to be

atypical of the barrio; membership is extremely irregular; childcare can

be sporadic or inattentive; unemployment is especially high.

> Most alienated barrio members...display damaged self-concepts,
> high levels of anxiety, and a seeming inability to form enduring
> and fulfilling relationships. In sum, this pattern seems to
> represent an essentially maladaptive reaction to massive and
> prolonged stress--a tragic outcome of entrapment and despair for
> people unequipped to cope with inimical features of their total
> environment (Achor 1978, p. 133).

Achor does not elaborate on the specific causes of this alienation re-

action, but alludes to persistent social and economic deprivation, and lower

class stigma, as the most relevant factors in this response. Contained in

Achor's analysis, however, are some perplexing notions of social deviance

which will be addressed later in this paper in a discussion of the Mexican-American *cholo* phenomenon.

Historical Process and Barrioization

The second recent and particularly significant scholarly contribution to the study of Mexican-American *barrios* is that of Albert Camarillo (1979). His approach to the study of Chicano communities in southern California is primarily historical, and focuses on the processes of urbanization and social class formation.

> The key to reconstructing the history of Chicano society in southern California is understanding the major developments of the half-century after the Mexican War. During the transitiona period between "Mexican" southern California and "American" southern California, approximately 1850 to 1875, and during the following quarter-century, the basic socioeconomic and political relations between the two groups were established. In tracing the history of this period as well as that of the first third of the twentieth century, special attention is placed on the development of Chicano neighborhoods or *barrios*. The external and internal factors--social, economic, political, racial, cultural, and demographic--that have shaped the life experiences of three generations of Mexican people in southern California. Another major feature of this study is its examination of the origins and evolution of the Chicano working class during the era of the Mexican pastoral economy, the subsequent incorporation of Mexican workers into the capitalist labor market, and, finally, the occupational status of Mexican workers during the predepression twentieth century (Camarillo, 1979, p.3-4).

The *barrioization* process refers to "the formation of residentially and socially segregated" neighborhoods of Mexican-Americans. The process involves profound changes in traditional land tenure, occupational realms, social and economic status, family organization, demographic composition, and social and geographic mobility for the Hispanic populations. *Barrios* exist only vis-à-vis an increasingly large and dominant Anglo (or mainstream American) community. As the Mexican-American enclave becomes more segregated and insular it also must become more "Americanized" in order to remain viable in the changing macroenvironment. In Santa Barbara, Camarillo (1979, p.65) reports,

> The adaptability of the Chicano community enabled it to preserve many distinctive cultural features during a period when social disintegration was likely to occur. The tenacity of the Spanish-language

and Mexican culture prompted a local author to write in 1888 that "Spanish traditions are clung to" and "Spanish customs are preserved." What this writer did not realize, however, was the extent to which traditions and customs were necessarily modified in order to survive. Some cultural activities disappeared altogether, while others became intrabarrio events cut off from possible Anglo contact. Social happenings were broadcast by word of mouth or by the Spanish-language press and Anglos usually learned about them only after they had taken place.

In addition to the changes in cultural features, the late 19th century barrioization process resulted in profound alterations in the occupational-- and subsequent socioeconomic--status of the Chicanos. Three major factors determined these changes: (1) the demise of the traditional Mexican-controlled pastoral economy (primarily cattle and sheep domestication); (2) the expansion of the Anglo-dominated capitalist economy emphasizing finance, urban development, and regional agri-business; and (3) the rapid out-migration of the primary source of menial labor, the Chinese. "Those Mexicans who lived during the period from the 1870s to the 1890s were the first generation to experience the reality of being 'Mexican in an Anglo society'--a reality that would shape the major life experiences of future generations of Spanish-speaking people" (Camarillo 1979, p. 78).

Camarillo's work deals primarily with the city of Santa Barbara, but he also gives treatments of the barrio histories of San Bernardino, Los Angeles, and San Diego. He draws parallels among the barrioization processes in each case: Anglo immigration, urbanization, Americanization, establishment of transportation and communication networks, tourist and real estate booms, business expansion, changes in residential patterns, and severe economic stratification. He notes also that the immigration of Mexicans to these communities was an on-going process, and that the designations of native-born Mexican-American took on important significance within and outside of the barrio even in the late 19th century (1979, pp.187-191).

Some important distinctions are also described between the respective barrio histories of the southern California cities. Of particular relevance

here is the barrioization history of San Diego. The long-standing, pre-1850
Mexican pueblo of San Diego, known as Old Town, was essentially abandoned as
an economic center by Anglo businessmen and investors in the 1860s and 1870s.
New Town, designed and developed around the economic potential of a wharf
complex and tourist area, and "not handicapped by too much historical back-
ground," became the focal point of Anglo commerce and social networks. Old
Town, in the last quarter of the 19th century went through a brief period of
cultural persistence, and was considered a picturesque representation of
traditional Mexican society. However, by the start of the new century the
demoralizing and destructive forces of worker proletarianization and economic
deprivation became increasingly evident.

> The barrioization in twentieth-century San Diego differed in
> some ways from the barrio development in San Bernardino and Los
> Angeles. "New" San Diego during the early twentieth century ex-
> perienced significant population growth, from 18,000 people in
> 1900 to 40,000 by 1910. Within this expanding urban locale, charac-
> terized by one historian as "a middle class, homogeneous, commercial
> city with an overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon population," two pockets
> of Mexican population existed. One was the Old Town pueblo, which
> had been isolated from New Town since the late 1860s. Here the
> small population stagnated further throughout the early twentieth
> century. The Old Towners nonetheless were able to maintain some
> semblance of identity among the increasing number of tourists who
> visited the historic pueblo. The second pocket of Mexican popula-
> tion, the more important in the barrioization process, was located
> in New San Diego, where as early as 1890 several Mexicans had
> located themselves in the downtown waterfront area.

> ...For over two decades Mexicans had entered this low-rent area
> to be near employment opportunities. But by 1910 the rising cost
> of rent, the demolition of condemned buildings, and the expansion
> of waterfront industries and business establishments had initiated
> a steady displacement of Mexicans and Blacks. As in Los Angeles,
> nonwhite ethnic groups were limited by racially restrictive covenants
> to segregated areas in the city. In San Diego the area just south-
> east of downtown became the principal home of Mexicans and Blacks.
> As early as 1914 approximately 25 percent of the Mexican population
> resided in this district "where crowding in cottages, shacks, and
> tenements" was "at its worst."

> The Mexican migration into southeast San Diego increased dramatically
> after World War I and was nearly complete by the 1920s. Anglo resi-
> dents in the area, originally known as Logan Heights, moved to newer

subdivisions in the city and left the neighborhood to Mexicans and a small group of blacks. The addition of thousands of new residents into the Logan Heights barrio aggravated the existing overcrowded conditions as these workers helped fill labor needs in the nearby factories, fish canneries, laundries, lumberyards, and the construction industry in general. By the late 1920s an estimated 20,000 Mexicans were living in Logan Heights, the second largest such population concentration in southern California. There, according to a former Mexicano resident of the area, they were confined to a segregated barrio in "the midst of the cruelest kind of poverty" (Camarillo 1979, pp.208-210).

The main points of Camarillo's study are, first, to demonstrate that the existence of Hispanic ethnic enclaves in these selected cities is the product of long and continuing social process, within which there is considerable variation of historical fact and observable results. Second, that this barrioization process is itself composed of several developmental patterns within the Chicano community: increased Anglo domination of social and economic resources; occupational and geographical displacement of the traditional Mexican population; proletarianization of the Mexican-American worker; and the development of a lower-class Mexican-American labor source. Finally, although Camarillo's study is documented only through the first thirty years of this century, he provides some very suggestive evidence that there are some interesting connections between the earlier socioeconomic processes and more contemporary behaviors and attitudes among Mexican-Americans in work-related situations.

In the balance of this paper I will evaluate the contributions of Achor and Camarillo, and offer some additional interpretation of their arguments. In doing so I shall focus on the more recent barrioization trends in San Diego, and on the work-related experiences and attitudes of a small group of Mexican-American youth from San Deigo.

Method

My own anthropological fieldwork in the Hispanic communities of San Diego took place over a period of five months in 1982. I was particularly concerned with two fundamental issues: First, the perceptions and attitudes which characterized the general Hispanic populace as it dealt with the various kinds of mainstream Anglo organizational environments and institutions. Specifically, I was interested in expressed value orientations which conditioned their perceptions of the United States Navy. Second, since the Navy environment is essentially male occupied, I focused primarily upon the work and career values which characterized young Hispanic males between the ages of 15 and 30. My analytic and interpretive strategy, therefore, was always mindful of the relationship between the young male subculture and the broader Hispanic community system.

My entrance into the Hispanic community of Logan Heights, known more locally as Barrio Logan, was initially quite gradual, and was assisted by the introductions of barrio-resident acquaintances established in an earlier stage on Hispanic Navy recruitment. Of particular help during this early phase of investigation were the immediate families of a bilingual education instructor at Logan High School, and of a Hispanic Navy recruiter stationed in the San Diego Navy Recruiting District. The social networks opened to me by these two respective families were remarkably different, and ultimately lent some important comparative insights to the variety of Mexican-American families residing within the barrio. Within a few weeks of the initial contacts I was able to take up residence in the household of a 65-year old Mexican-American woman who shared her modest house with two of her post-adolescent grandsons whose family lived nearby, but whose house would not easily accommodate the parents and all six of the siblings.

My earliest contacts were with the immediate family and more distant

kinsmen of Doña Luz,* and with students at the high school. I explained the work and interests of an anthropologist, and also my affiliation with a major midwestern university. Most of my barrio friends and informants said that they could easily understand my wanting to live in California instead of Illinois (especially during the winter), but few fully grasped my desire and need to spend most of my time in Logan Heights. It is possible that they felt their doubts and suspicions were justified when they learned that I also maintained an apartment qua office in another section of San Diego. In any case, I had learned from research experience in another Hispanic context that I should not call unnecessary attention to the fact that I was affiliated with a university psychology department or with any form of federal government organization. Too often, it seems, the attention of a "psychologist" is seen as an indication of some kind of personality disturbance in the individual or group being observed. Perhaps even more threatening in this barrio situation is the possibility of investigations by federal immigration authorities, local police, or debt collection agencies.

The general anthropological methodology employed in the research included daily "participant" observation and casual conversation, especially in the early stages of the interaction. As in most communities, the barrio is characterized by a large variety of interaction centers. The household is probably the most obvious. However, for my interests I soon found that local taverns, automotive repair garages, community centers (youth centers), and the high school were the arenas for the most revealing and productive observation and conversation. As time passed and I became a more familiar presence in the community, I began to gather detailed biographical, socio-economic, and attitudinal information more systematically from individuals and families.

I was particularly interested in information which might help me to assess

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*This is a fictive name for my barrio hostess.

the relative degree of acculturation of specific individuals and families. Place of birth (where in Mexico, or where in the United States?), place of rearing, educational history, occupational history, bi-lingual abilities, and kinds of typical interaction with the Anglo community were factors which seemed most relevant to the study of the issues at hand. An additional realm of information which proved to be extremely interesting and significant concerned the geographic mobility history and aspirations of many barrio residents. Finally, as I focused more closely on the work ethnics of young Hispanic males I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity to create a small-scale "testing" situation in which I found short-term employment for seven young men in a predominantly Anglo work setting. Since I had exensive biographical and expressed attitude information on all of these individuals, I was able to observe at least a limited manifestation of their work-related values in conjunction with their actual work-related behaviors.

Barrio Logan, San Diego

Other writers, in their descriptions of Mexican- American barrio settings, have repeatedly emphasized that it is rare that the territorial locale of the urban Mexican-American resembles a "ghetto" or "slum" (cf. Achor, 1978; Goodman & Beman, 1968; Steiner, 1969). Barrio Logan is contiguous with the commercial and financial zones of downtown San Diego; it cradles the southern and southeastern edges of the "skyscraper zone." Logan is not solely a residential area; in fact it is almost thoroughly interspersed with light industrial concerns, warehouses, garages, retail stores, restaurants, etc. The history of the zoning regulations in the barrio, and the contemporary zoning picture are rather irregular, and reflect a long-standing effort to accommodate the short-run interests of both housing and industrial concerns. To the west the barrio abuts with the Pacific Highway which runs north and south along the coast of the San Diego Bay, and which separates the barrio from the commercial

wharfs, the industrial shipyards and drydocks, and the United States Navy's largest shore facility, the 32nd Street Naval Fleet Base. Hence, to the north and west Barrio Logan has rather clear bounds. However, to the east and south the bounds are not at all clear. To the east is the region known as East San Diego, inhabited by a largely Black population. However, there is a broad transition zone in which Hispanics, Blacks, and some Anglos are residentially interspersed. It could perhaps be argued that, in some important sense, the southern bounds of Barrio Logan is the United States/Mexican border, for the metropolitan sprawl which extends the full sixteen or seventeen miles from downtown San Diego to Tijuana is one of the most residentially integrated areas in all of San Diego County. There are pockets exclusively Anglo or exclusively Mexican-American occupation, but the overall pattern is one of interspersal. Further, as one observes the movement of human traffic into and out of principal sections of Barrio Logan, one realizes that the interaction—among Hispanics, and between Hispanics and Anglos—follows complex social networks extending from downtown to the border and, of course, beyond.

While the industrial and warehousing zones within the principal northern section of the barrio might offend the aesthetic sense of most middle-class mainstream visitors to the area, the neighborhood homes themselves are for the most part well kept. In size and quality of construction most of the houses are modest; most are less than thirty or forty years old; most have small fenced yards, front and rear. A properly painted house is considered important; and a garden of flowers and ceramic figures is usually preferred over dirt or even a grassy lawn. In the main section of the barrio the houses are fairly dense in location; often only six to 10 feet will separate the exterior walls of adjacent homes. It is not unusual to find homes surrounded by small retail or service businesses. And many residences also double as business locations for family enterprises such as moving and hauling operations, seamstresses, extermination services, or palm reading.

What is of most interest, anthropologically, in these households is the constantly high level of human traffic through them. While the homes might normally be considered small single-family dwellings, they actually often house widely extended and flexible family aggregates. During my visits to the homes of informants I attempted to keep careful track of the personnel currently residing in each home. This was a particularly difficult task, given the relatively short duration of the field study, and given also the frequently encountered sensitivity toward the subject of "newly arrived" family members. Nevertheless, during the course of my study the conversations with individuals and families revealed a very high incidence of transiency and/or absenteeism. People often spoke--many times specifically--of relatives or friends who were living "away from San Diego," or who were working elsewhere, or who were visiting family in Mexico. The reported periods of transience and absenteeism varied widely, from a matter of several days to several months. Houses very frequently contained young children, left in the care of grandparents or aunts and uncles. Biographical interviews indicate that relatively few middle-aged and elderly Mexican-American residents in the barrio had spent all of their life in Barrio Logan, or even in San Diego. Importantly, it seems that Mexican-born residents have experienced a higher degree of geographic mobility, even after having established a household in San Diego, than the American-born residents.

Barrio Logan is not now the only densely populated Mexican-American enclave in San Diego. Others are to be found to the south in Otay Mesa, Chula Vista, and National City. Further, the social processes and the human traffic which characterize Barrio Logan may have parallels in the other barrios. However, Barrio Logan was particularly striking because of the obvious intensity of the movement of recent Mexican immigrants into and out of this barrio. Undoubtedly a large portion of this immigration is technically or officially illegal, but

it became quite clear to me that Barrio Logan was an important "staging area"
in the movement of these people into various parts of California and the other
western states. Family, friends, and even contracted agents provide various
kinds of resources and support to the immigrants as they plan or arrange
continuation of their migration. Some immigrants may stay in the barrio for
only days, others may remain months or years; but most ultimately will move
on, into central and northern California, or into adjacent western states, or
even into the American midwest.

Another aspect of this geographic cynamism is the high degree of local
mobility. Achor (1978), Camarillo (1979), and Rubel (1966) describe relatively
insular barrio situations in which the greater portion of the Mexican-American
residents venture into the wider Anglo-dominated world only with reluctance
and with considerable trepidation. My observations of interaction networks
centered in Barrio Logan suggest that a rather diverse range of Mexican-Americans
(high and low acculturation, mono-lingual and bi-lingual, recently arrived or
native-born, and so on) are willing and anxious to venture out into other
sections of San Diego, to visit, to work, and to live. What is important to
these people, and to their associates who remain in Logan Barrio, is not so
much physical location (as long as it is not too far beyond reasonable traveling
distance), but rather the regular maintenance of communication. "Good friends"
and "good family" are those who make a special effort to visit and phone, and
maintain an active interest in the barrio, even when they have moved away.

What this may suggest for social scientists looking at these kinds of
ethnic enclaves is that it will be necessary to understand the "barrio" to be
less of a physically bounded island, and more like a network of liaisons and
interdependencies among people, perhaps radiating from a central location.
This view additionally might help to better understand the intense loyalties
which people demonstrate toward a barrio neighborhood even though they may
work or reside in a predominantly non-Hispanic environment.

Another interesting discovery made in the barrio is that it appears that
an increasing percentage of the Mexican immigrants are coming from relatively
"nontraditional" Mexican backgrounds. Most of the literature on the subject
has described the predominantly rural, agricultural, pastoral, and peasant
backgrounds of most Mexican immigrants. Until recently this has probably been
an accurate description. Data gathered in Barrio Logan suggests that many
of the people entering the United States from Mexico are now increasingly
coming from urban, industrial, and proletariat backgrounds. I spoke with
dozens of recent immigrants who had traveled, however gradually, from Mexico
City, Monterey, Durango, and Chihuahua, where they had been marginally em-
ployed auto mechanics, construction workers, taxi drivers, and unskilled
braceros. These people, unlike most of their predecessors, are entering the
United States as proletarians and urban dwellers. Since so much of the social
scientific literature is based on a presumed traditional Mexican culture and
associated complex of values and attitudes, this new trend--if it can indeed
be convincingly documented--may have important implications for our studies
of Hispanic issues in the North American context, particularly for the problem
of acculturation.

A detailed study of the urban Mexican-American life-cycle (especially in
terms of mobility, occupation, and household formation) was beyond the scope
of my fieldwork, but there seems to be some initial evidence that this life
cycle includes much more movement and occupational flexibility than previously
described. There may be some important socioeconomic causes or correlations
associated with this flow of personnel, but to speculate on these here would
be premature. This information may suggest, however, that the processes of
barrioization and worker proletarianization, described by Camarillo, have
taken on new forms and recur even more strongly in the contemporary setting.

<u>Attitudes toward work among young Mexican-American males.</u> My strategy in seeking to obtain information on the attitudes of Hispanic men toward work was to gain detailed biographical data on as many individuals as possible, question these individuals about their work-related values and experiences, and note any patterns which emerged when personal background characteristics correlated with particular expressed values. Toward the end of my <u>barrio</u> fieldwork I was able to arrange the temporary employment of seven individuals from my sample, and to observe their experiences in the work setting.

The widest sample of informants with whom I was able to spend significant time included thirty-three males (ages 15 to 25) and six females (ages 16 to 20). I have the most extensive data from a core sample of 22 males and 2 women. (Since the sample contains so few females, and since the most immediate practical concerns of the research concern potential male Navy recruits, I have omitted most of the relevant information concerning women from this report.) Table 1 summarizes the informant profiles. The sample is small and not entirely random, for a majority of my informants were met and contacted in a limited number of public places: the high school, a youth center, and through my own social network. Nevertheless, it does seem possible to recognize some probable trends in the profile information. It is not appropriate to conclude from this sample that 60 percent of the Barrio Logan young male population are American-born. In fact, some of my information on geographic mobility suggests that the percentage of Mexican immigrants temporarily residing in—that is, moving through—the <u>barrio</u> may be significantly higher. But many individuals within this recent immigrant group are not frequently found in the school system, publicly-operated social centers, or in highly visible work sites. In any case the transients would not be sufficiently acculturated to join the U.S. Navy. Among the native-born (i.e., American-born) Mexican-Americans, how- ever, there seems to be some correlative trends involving native-born parents

who are bilingual and maintain a nuclear family household and sons who are
bilingual, high school educated, and exhibit social behaviors which can be
assessed as moderately to highly acculturated to mainstream values. Biling-
ualism, education, and mainstream values still do not assure employability
(though clearly many of the informants in this age group are excluded from
work opportunities by virtue of their limited attendance at school). Resi-
dence in the barrio is not necessarily a mark of socioeconomic status or degree
of acculturation; middle class and economically stable families do reside in
the barrio, some for extended periods of time. The general implication for
native-born informants is that they (and their families) seem to have, and
to exercise, a great number of options in their lifestyles. It seems that the
experiences of having alternatives and needing to make choices would be a
particularly important skill if an individual was, for instance, to consider
career possibilities in an Anglo environment, such as the Navy.

Among Mexican-born barrio residents, however, the trends change in im-
portant ways. Marginally bilingual or mono-lingual Spanish speakers, residing
primarily in the barrio are virtually unemployable, and their families' house-
holds tend to be economically marginal or stable, but never approach a middle-
class level. Very probably the degree of socioeconomic stability that these
households demonstrate is due to the fact that membership is extended to a
variety of kinsmen, some of whom may have access to greater supportive
resources. The Mexican-born informants tend to be more insular and traditional,
but they were, or were willing to be, quite mobile within the larger city.

At this point it seems useful to describe one of the most visible social
types found in the barrio.

The Cholos

One social type, the Cholos, constitute a portion of the barrio population.
They are only marginally acculturated though they include both native- and
foreign-born Mexican-Americans. Cholismo is style of behavior, dress,

interacting, and thinking which has been adopted by a very visible (if not statistically significant) portion of young Mexican-American males, and some females. The phenomenon has not been extensively described by social scientists, though it receives considerable attention in the newspapers of most cities with large Hispanic populations. It is essentially a product of the urban barrio, and is the result of a combination of factors including persistent economic privation, low levels of acculturation, intensified ethnic identification in the face of frustrated efforts in adaptation. The word cholo is considered a derisive term for a Mexican-American. Its historical referent is to the destitute shanty-towns which typified some Mexican communities in and near the barrios of Los Angeles early in the 20th century (Camarillo, 1979, pp. 203-204).

In the San Diego barrios the young men who adopt this style of self-presentation dress themselves in a distinct and relatively uniform manner; their hairstyles are meticulous and also uniformly characteristic of the group. Their language is a blend of Spanish, English, and a patois of colloquialisms. The preferred music is not traditionally Mexican in style, but rather the intensely syncopated electronic music of Black American discoteques, played loudly on automobile stereo systems or on the oversized "sound boxes" which have more popularly been associated with Black American youth.

Of more pertinent significance here is the fact that the Cholo phenomenon is a distinctly group-oriented style of behavior. Most Anglos and conservative Hispanics refer to the cholo groupings as gangs. The cholos are strongly territorial in their perception of the larger barrio community. Barrio Logan is itself divided into several sections (varying in size from a few square blocks to an entire residential neighborhood), each with its own group of cholo "home boys." While the cholo group does provide a strong sense of identity and loyalty for its members, it also increases the possibility of

inter-group confrontation and violence. It is this violence which has received the most prominent attention in the San Diego news media, and which has created an additional negative aspect to the images which most mainstream Anglos hold of the Mexican population. In addition, the cholo "preoccupation" with stylistic grafitti (their "placas"--individual or group signatures on building walls), "low rider" automobiles, and intense partying are parts of an essentially anti-social image held by the larger San Diego community.

Parallels might be drawn between the cholo phenomenon and that of "pachuquismo" and the "pachucos" in California and southwestern cities in the 1940s, 1950, and 1960s. Pachuquismo too was a product of conflict, frustration, and stylistic expression in the barrios of Los Angeles during World War II. The pachucos were most notably at odds with mainstream society during the so-called "Zoot suit riots," in Los Angeles, in 1943. During this episode there developed a great deal of tension and violence between Mexican-American youth and off-duty U.S. Navy personnel. It might be argued that among contemporary Mexican-American youth the old pachucos have taken on almost heroic characteristics (Adler, 1970; Scott 1970a, 1970b). It could be that the cholo phenomenon is modeled after pachuquismo, and may be a response to similar circumstances within the modern barrios.

The adherents of cholismo are mostly Mexican-born males, between the ages of 13 and 30, who seem best to fit Achor's alienation mode of response to barrio life and adaptation. Yet it is unclear--and this is an important sociological issue--whether the exaggeratedly non-traditional behaviors and attitudes of the cholos constitute misguided social deviance or whether they constitute a reasonably effective mode of bicultural adaptation to a relatively intimidating environment. In the schools the cholos demonstrate an apparently high resistence to formal learning, to bi-lingual and bi-cultural education programs, and to sanctioned developmental resources. Yet it may be that by publicly denying the legitimacy of the mainstream values and facilities they

are somehow also reasserting their ties to the ethnic enclave and to the barrio-
based social network upon which they have come to depend.

The cholos of Barrio Logan constitute actually a very small percentage
of the community's young population. Yet they do seem to have a very important
symbolic significance for the larger young acculturating populace. Most young
Mexican-Americans disdain the cholos and, aside from some attempts at imita-
tive dress, do not wish to be like them. Still, many moderately acculturated
informants indicated that were it not for some particular events, social or
personal factors, or luck they too might have "turned out to be a cholo."
Moreover, the cholos serve to remind the more successfully assimilating in-
formants that, like the cholos, they must also be cautious, if not distrustful,
of the Anglo world. Most barrio residents are well aware of the varied forms
of discrimination and negative stereotyping which are found in the mainstream
culture, and some young Hispanics even look admiringly at the cholos for their
attempts at demonstrative ethnic pride and resistence to the cultural demands
of the North American lifestyle.

Needless to say, the segment of the young barrio population which strongly
identified with the cholo mode of comportment is not a source of reliable
information on traditional and acculturating attitudes toward work. For a more
accurate assessment of Mexican-American and barrio work values I return to
the core youth sample.

Core Youth

Expressed attitudes toward work. As noted by Ross, et al. (1982) much of
the social science literature pertaining to the work attitudes and practices
of Mexican-Americans describes lower-class immigrants and deals with a core
of related value orientation issues, such as present-time cognitive style,
a fatalistic perspective, identity based on "being" rather than "doing," the
lack of central importance of work in relation to other aspects of life, and
external locus of control. Usually underlying much of the research and analysis

in this area is the assumption that the Hispanics being studied are products of, and therefore carry the cultural baggage of, traditional, rural Mexican peasant society. It is further observed that the value complexes of this society are dysfunctional for the immigrant in mainstream North American society.

Among the findings of this study is a greater than expected diversity in both the socio-cultural background of immigrant barrio populace and in the value systems which they use to guide their behaviors. Achor's (1979) adaptation categories are quite useful in understanding the San Diego barrio setting, though she seems to underestimate the significance of a subsegment of the populace which might willingly foster violent confrontation as a means of making the mainstream society and institutions take on some of the responsibility for adaptation and change.

One of the most important variables in understanding the background diversity of the Barrio Logan community is reflected in the fact that six of the nine Mexican-born informants in this study's core sample were born in large Mexican metropolitan centers (three in Tijuana, two in Mexico City, and one in Juarez); hence, their respective families have had some, and perhaps considerable, experience in the values, organizations, and complexities which typify urbanization. Among the seven native-born informants whose parents were born in Mexico, three of the parent pairs were reported to have been born and raised in Mexican cities. Of the six native-born informants of native-born parents, four reported that their parents were from San Diego.

The implication which needs to be explored, then, is that there might be some logical and empirical connection between the specifically urban backgrounds of Mexican-American immigrants and natives and their attitudes toward work. More precisely, following Camarillo's (1979) lead, it may be that the process of proletarianization which typified the urbanizing Mexican-American

towns of California in the past century, may also be increasingly apparent in the towns and cities of Mexico. Moreover, in as much as the labor needs of town and country are very much intertwined in Mexico, the urban proletariat is very likely to exist along side a rural-working and rural-residing proletariat: in each case, non-landed, marginally employed, (through piece work or wage labor), and occupying the lowest segment of the class structure (cf. Warman, 1981). Hence, the immigrant population to the United States—to locations like Barrio Logan—will increasingly consist of rural and urban proletarians, or of traditional peasants and agriculturalists recently displaced from their lands. Added to this is the native American-born Hispanic whose work history has been a mixture of waged farm labor, industrial production, and generally menial urban service occupations.

Considering these factors, the diversity and complexity of the barrio work force—at least in terms of work experience and values—becomes more noteworthy.

Expressed views on work and career. In discussing the work values of the study's core sample an initial, perhaps obvious, caveat must be made: few of these young men have had extensive work experience. A few who have grown up in San Diego have had limited stints as farm laborers. Many of the more highly acculturated individuals have held part-time jobs, in menial positions (washing dishes, selling hamburgers), but only a few have achieved job openings which might lead to more substantial training and income.

Further, it is difficult to generalize about the work attitudes of barrio youth as a whole. As is suggested in the profile data, there is considerable diversity in the social backgrounds and accompanying value orientations of the young Mexican-American residents of San Diego. In the description of attitudes which is to follow I shall point out the socio-cultural background of the informants when it is relevant.

The work ethics with which I am concerned here are configurations of values, beliefs, and attitudes which relate to the practical, empirical, and ideological aspects of "earning a livelihood." I am not specifically concerned with "work" in a rudimentary "effort-expenditure" sense; nor am I concerned with labor proffered in the interest of charity or social welfare. I focus on matters of employment and income-earning, and on the material and emotional rewards of a job.

Anthropological descriptions of work in primitive and developing (usually Third World) societies normally emphasize the perspective that work traditionally is not a realm separate from other social activities. That is, the personnel and value configurations involved in work and subsistence are <u>not</u> of a different social fabric than family, religion, and social order. Indeed, to intellectually segment these aspects of pre-industrial social life is to treat them as artificially separable, and thus runs the risk of undermining the reality of their "holistic" interrelatedness. Social scientific treatments of modern (or modernizing) industrial society, however, underscore the fact that the mesh which unites the various social realms is much less apparent and tenacious than that in traditional societies. Work, leisure, family, religion, politics are generally seen as empirically and logically disjunct, even though there may be ideological principles which unite these realms, in different ways, for particular segments of the society.

Descriptions of 20th century Mexican populations (Foster, 1967; Refield, 1956) have normally stressed the close integration of rural subsistence patterns with other social and cultural concerns. Peasant agriculture, it is argued, is generally homogenous in its form, its resource demands, its production, and its human requirements. The issues of "jobs" and "careers" are essentially foreign concepts to the traditional peasant. Daily life is a patterned blend of necessity production and social consumption.

More recent studies (e.g., Warman, 1981) have made clear that in the modernizing Mexican state the "folk society" image is becoming less and less accurate. Rather, as the nation has become more industrial and urban, and as access to productive land has increasingly eluded rural dwellers, there is a growing percentage of the population which is compelled to seek positions as waged laborers in industrial concerns in the countryside and, especially, in the cities. Normally occupying the lower strata of social and economic activities, these rural and urban proletarians are continually confronted with the survival problems which accompany the economic vagaries of the development of the Mexican national state. It is not surprising, therefore, that people from this general category constitute a significant portion of the Mexican immigrant population to the United States, and of the Mexican population residing in the San Diego barrios.

The work attitudes which typify such a marginally wage-based stratum are much in evidence in Barrio Logan, particularly among the less acculturated young men. Within the less acculturated segment of the group studied in the San Diego barrio, pro-work ideas and attitudes were generally "survivalist." A job is viewed primarily as a source of income. All of the young Mexican-American informants wished, ideally, for employment that would be a source of things other than money; but those expectations--for friendship, entertainment, romance, or social mobility--were explicitly secondary. All informants expressed high motivation to work hard, and to work long. The prevailing expectation of all of the less acculturated individuals, and of most of the well acculturated informants, was that hard and steady work would be economically and socially rewarded. Among the less acculturated group, however, work was generally translated to mean physical labor. Strength, dexterity, endurance, and quickness were normally described as the attributes of a hard worker. Additionally, discipline--or the ability to do what one is told to do--was viewed as an important characteristic.

In general, the perception of <u>non-physical</u> work and employment was vague
or confused among this group of informants. Most envied the apparent life-
styles of office-workers, managers, and professionals, but had little regard
for the amount of "work" they did. Some young men were able to trace their
lack of appreciation of white-collar work and workers to the rather glaring
disparity between the kinds of rewards reaped:

> Without our breaking our backs every day, those guys in the office
> would never earn what they earn. They send people down here (to
> the work site) every morning and afternoon, to check up on us.
> And all they do is stand around and drink cokes, and smoke. Sure,
> some of them used to work out here with the concrete, too; but
> now that they're in the foreman trailer or driving the company's
> pickup truck, they figure they've got it made; that they've got
> it easy.

Beyond earning a wage, the next most important aspect of the young His-
panic work ethic is the concern with <u>keeping</u> a job. Most of the lower accul-
turated Mexican-Americans felt that they had to make an extraordinary effort
just to stay on the job, and that they continually had to overcome a "work-
place stigma" of being Mexican, particularly in an Anglo-dominated setting.
Better acculturated informants offered similar reports, but added that while
they did not feel that they necessarily had to work any harder or better than
their mainstream counterparts, they had to make <u>fewer</u> <u>errors</u>:

> When an American guy blows it, or does something stupid, he can
> usually explain it; or he can talk the boss into giving him another
> chance. The Mexican guy just gets scared, or mad. And he has a
> hard time explaining what he did because he doesn't speak English
> too good. He's scared because he knows everybody is watching him.
> And he knows he can't afford to lose his job.

The fears of losing a job seem justified. Louv (1981) reports a very
high rate of job turnover among Mexican-American youth in San Diego, particu-
larly in the lower-paying ranges. Not only young <u>barrio</u> residents, but
Mexican-Americans of all ages seem to have very diverse and checkered employ-
ment histories. The reasons for such mixed work experience are several, in-
cluding a fundamental shortage of consistently applicable skills, the short-
term duration of the piecemeal work which is to be found in local industries,

the costs and difficulties of getting to distant work sites, and a basic unfamil-
iarity with the skills necessary to establish a position in (and progress
through) a work organization.

Among most of the informants in the core sample there exists an under-
lying distrust of the decisions by foremen and managers concerning job tenure.
Decisions to terminate the employment of a worker—especially a Mexican-American
worker—are often perceived by the Hispanics as being spurious and vindictive,
at worst, or whimsical and personality-related, at best. In fact, what might
be loosely termed a "personality conflict" between an employer/foreman and an
employee, might be explained more accurately in terms of social structural and
cultural factors. The importance of personalismo (seeing all interpersonal
vents as controlled by personality rather than role, norm, job requirements or
other attributes outside the person) is more pronounced among Hispanics than
in the mainstream (Eduardo Seda, personal communication to Triandis, 1982).

Hispanics in general, and Mexican-Americans, in particular, have frequently
been described as being "fatalistic" in their world-views; that is, as viewing
the loci of influence and control in their personal and community lives as
existing "outside" of those lives; in the hands of others. On a superficial
level there seems to be some justification for this view. A repeated theme in
the interviews with Barrio Logan residents concerned the need for patience in
obtaining employment. A common expression is that a job must be "allowed to
arrive." The expectation was not that employment would be "God-given," but
that by virtue of living in the United States and by virtue of being willing
to work, that sooner or later the "society" or the "system" would make room
for them. Some informants indicated that they could easily take steps toward
gaining part-time and low-paying jobs with the occupational or business con-
cern of a relative, but that for the well-paying jobs, with good benefits, one
had to wait for the Anglo-owned, or Anglo-dominated, organizations to create
the positions.

access to, and acquisition of, the relevant social and technical skills, through
education and through practical acculturational experience.

Paternalism. Padilla (1964), in reporting on research concerning Puerto
Rican attitudes toward work in Anglo-American corporate organizations, notes
that Puerto Ricans tend to view mainstream employers as being uninterested in
the Hispanic workers or employees. Padilla finds that given alternatives, the
Puerto Rican worker would prefer a more intimate and personalistic contact with
a boss or employer, and that such a "paternalistic" relationship allows for
at least the possibility of a broader range of social interaction surrounding
the boss/worker dyad. Among the implications of such a paternalistic inter-
active and employment style is that the work place takes on something of a
familial quality: that the elements of mutual support and interdependence which
supposedly characterize the Hispanic family are similarly in evidence in the
business, labor and productive arenas. Likewise, in such "familial" workplace
a Hispanic might expect a significantly less competitive atmosphere; the
"brothers" of the workplace expect more or less equivalent recognition from,
and are more or less equally related to, the "paternal" boss, foreman, or
employer.

The attitudinal and behavioral information gathered in San Diego suggest
that "paternalistic" preference reported among Puerto Ricans is not easily or
accurately attributable to the Mexican-American population of southern Cali-
fornia. Barrio Hispanics in the San Diego sample did express a consistent
preference for employers and bosses who could speak Spanish; but many—particu-
larly the more highly acculturated individuals—indicated that the "paternal"
or "familial" style of workplace interaction was just as often detrimental to
an individual's employment potential:

> Being close, and good friends with the boss is okay; but it can
> also put a lot of pressure on a guy... Sure, it's nice to be like
> family to all of the other guys on the job, and to have one or two
> guys who are the foremen who you can look up to and depend on. But

> when we're all supposed to be brothers it means that we have to cover
> for each other; and when some guys don't do their share it makes it
> rough on everybody else. And when it comes time to get a raise or
> a bonus, everybody gets the same thing, even the guys who are goofing
> off. So if one guy is working hard and busting his ass to better
> himself, he doesn't really get anywhere.
>
> Also, when you get a job through a relative or a friend, and on
> the job people try hard to treat you like family, sometimes it makes
> it hard to leave, like when you have a chance for a better job. You
> hate to leave the people in a bind...especially when they've gone
> out of their way to make room for you.

Contained in this informant's statement is the belief that while being

"brothers" under the supervision of a "paternal" project boss or employer has

some social and psychological advantages, it also seems to restrict the possi-

bility of individual advancement on the basis of merit.

A recent review of the literature on individualism and collectivism by

Triandis (1983) concluded that cultures differ on this dimension, and individ-

uals within a culture differ as well. Those who are collectivist pay much

attention to the needs, opinions and goals of others; those who are individua-

lists pay less attention to such interpersonal factors. Furthermore, the

literature suggests that individualists emphasize equity (people should be

rewarded according to their contributions to the success of an enterprise) while

collectivists emphasize either need (to each according to his needs) or equality.

Finally, shifts from collectivism to individualism appear to occur with (a)

increased acculturation into mainstream American culture, (b) modernity (in-

cluding level of education and urban experience), and (c) social class. Thus,

we should expect the more acculturated, more educated or higher social class

Hispanics to emphasize equity, and to prefer to be rewarded according to their

own effort, while the more traditional, low education, lower social class

Hispanics might prefer equality and paternalism.

In any case these informants are consistent in expressing a desire to work

in a situation in which they are assessed primarily on the basis of individual

effort. While several informants acknowledged that it is often necessary to

depend upon paternalistic or patron connections to obtain a job, it is considered best to avoid situations in which the individual owes personal and social debts to the employer or supervisor.

It is hard to generalize about the corresponding attitudes of employers and foremen. On the basis of only a few informal interviews with Hispanic employers and supervisors (operating in small-scale, local business, service, or construction concerns), it seems that those supervisors who are most willing to foster a "paternalistic" employment and work environment are those who are administering a decidedly labor-intensive project dependent upon regularly large pools of unskilled workers: construction sites, agricultural work, concrete work, and highway maintenance. In these areas wages are low, but the expense of worker turnover is economically and administratively high. In such job situations it seems that the patron/client dependence is most useful in attracting and keeping young unskilled workers.

The supervisory positions in work environments involving well-skilled employees are, for the most part, in the hands of mainstream Anglos. Here the idealized model is of a system in which the hiring and evaluation of employees rests in the hands of a specified personnel department or manager, apart from the direct influence of the work director. Of course, the ideal operation of such a "neutral" system depends upon the size of the concern and the personalities of the administrators; but generally mainstream employers tend to emphasize the significance of performance, and merit, and prefer to de-emphasize social indebtedness.

Labor-unions. At least brief mention must be made of the relevance of organized labor to the work attitudes of barrio residents. Generally speaking, in California among mainstream business, citizens, and social institutions there is a relatively strong resistance to labor unions. This relatively conservative atmosphere places the Hispanic worker in an unusually peculiar situation. There

exists through most segments of mainstream Californian society a rather negative

image of the essentially ethnic-based United Farm Workers (UFW). Even among

mainstream citizens and workers who either support organized labor or are

actually members of unions there is a great deal of ambivalence toward the

organization of "foreign" workers. The general objection, often left unspecified,

is not so much to the organization as to the ethnic origin of the organization's

personnel. The business community--in urban industry as well as rural agri-

culture--is especially cautious in considering the possibility of large scale

ethnic-based unions.

The objective successes of the UFW aside, the role of organized labor

remains problematic for most young barrio residents. They view the operations

and organizations of the UFW with confused ambivalence. While they can see

many of the clear benefits which have derived from UFW efforts, both on the

farms and elsewhere, they are also aware of the possibly negative influence of

an assumed association with either the organization, specifically, or with the

ethnic enclave, by imputation. Most barrio Hispanics indicated that they would

prefer to avoid the association with any UFW-like unions; indeed, several said

that they were specifically warned by their employers to avoid labor organiza-

tions. At present most Hispanics in the barrio are not involved in skills for

which formal labor unions exist; so they are not directly involved with the

issue. But the "stigma" of some indirect, or imputed, association with the

"foreigners'" UFW is an issue which concerns many of the residents of Barrio

Logan. Some residents have contact with the unions which operate in the nearby

NASCO shipyards, and others have experience with the organizations of city and

state employees. Undoubtedly the influence of the various unions will become

more predominant in the shaping of Hispanic work attitudes in the years to come.

For now, we can only acknowledge this emerging element.

Observation of Hispanics in a Work Environment

During an eight-day period in August, 1982, the writer was able to arrange
the temporary employment of seven Mexican-American individuals from the San
Diego barrio. The work was in a labor-intensive context, required no special
skills, and involved the loading and unloading of equipment and merchandise for
a large retail sale of sporting goods equipment in the main pavilion of the
San Diego Sports Arena. The handling and assembly of display equipment was the
main task of the eighty or ninety workmen and supervisors involved. To accom-
plish the task the total work force was divided into approximately 10 crews,
each with an assigned set of job responsibilities, and each directed by a crew
leader.

The ethnic mix of the total work pool included approximately 70 Anglos,
five Blacks, and 10 Mexican-Americans (seven of which were brought to the
setting by the writer). Only three or four of the Anglo workers were women;
everyone else in the crews were men, and were between the ages of 18 and 32.
In all cases the crew leader was an Anglo male who was also a full-time em-
ployee of the retail corporation. So each work crew consisted of an Anglo
leader, four to six Anglo workers (usually temporary employees), and one to
three Hispanics or Blacks.

The work-days were 10 to 16 hours; wages for the temporary workers were
slightly above minimum wage, with allowances for over-time compensation. Trans-
portation to the work site, meals, and clothing were the responsibility of
the worker. The business did supply canned soda for the mid-morning and mid-
afternoon breaks. Working hours were accounted for on individual time cards,
punched at a clock.

Among the Hispanic workers from this study's sample, there is a fair
diversity in relevant biographical background and degree of general acculturation
(see Table 1). The informants who participated in this "experimental" segment
of the study are listed as numbers 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 12, and 20. All were

unemployed at the time of the study. Additionally, they were selected for their ability to speak English; all were either bilingual or monolingual in English. Four of the informants (numbers 1, 7, 12, and 20) were assessed as being low or moderate in acculturation, while the remaining three (numbers 3, 6, 9) were evaluated as being well acculturated to mainstream North American life. Table 2 offers a summarization of the background information on the job experiment participants.

Informants 1-LA (1-Low Acculturated) and 12-LA were assigned as single Hispanics to different work crews; informants 7-LA and 20-LA were grouped together in a work crew. Informant 3-HA (3-High Acculturated) was placed singly in a crew; 6-HA and 9-HA were placed together.

The anthropological task during the eight days of temporary work was to observe as carefully as possible--without interfering with the overall job, or with the informant's personal assessment of his work experience--the patterns of specifically Hispanic behavior within this context, and also the modes of interaction which developed between the Hispanics (singly and in groups) and the predominant mainstream Anglo work force. To whatever extent possible, the writer worked with the various crews, as if another employee, in order to better observe and hear the interaction. In addition, personal discussions with most of the informants transpired during the course of the work week, and after the employment had terminated. The writer attempted to be particularly sensitive to expressions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the work, per se, the setting, the work companions, and with wages. Reports, perceptions, or expressions of prejudicial or biased attitudes were noted with particular care. Of special importance were expressions of ideas and attitudes concerning employment, hard expenditures of effort, and the significance (for the Hispanics) of working with, and for, Anglo managers and bosses.

A summary of the observations and interviews reveals some suggestive trends.

Among those informants who were singly assigned to the work crews, there was a strong consistency in reporting relatively high satisfaction with the work experience. Informants 1-AL and 12-LA reported more positive feelings toward the work than did Informant 3-HA. Interactively, however, the less acculturated informants spent much of their time doing tasks which did not require the constant cooperation of other crew members. As well, the less acculturated individuals passed most of their breaks and less-intense work phases alone, physically apart from the other crew members, but not necessarily demonstrating a desire or need to seek out other Hispanics. While working more intensely and cooperatively with the Anglo crew, the less acculturated individuals did verbally respond and interact freely; but they seemed less inclined to initiate conversations or to reveal much biographical detail. The single well acculturated individual (3-HA), on the other hand, expressed privately a good deal of frustration with the "managerial" efficiency of his crew boss; he was unsatisfied with the wage level, particularly in the calculation of over-time renumeration; and he was particularly emphatic in noting that if he had an opportunity to obtain full-time work with this kind of a business concern he would be able to make much more of the opportunity than most of the individuals who were the crew bosses. This informant maintained steady, intense, and cordial interaction with his crew members throughout the experience. He was well thought of by the other crew members, and by most of the crew bosses. One crew boss and another higher-level manager expressed some dislike for this informant, and may have felt somewhat threatened by his social and interactive skills and by his apparent enthusiasm for hard work.

The less acculturated dyad (7-LA and 20-LA) expressed, individually and together, a significantly less positive evaluation of the week's work and interaction than did their similarly acculturated peers, 1-LA and 12-LA. While they found the work fairly interesting and challenging, they did note that they felt

that they were being constantly scrutinized by their fellow crew members, their boss, and by many of the other workers in the arena. During the course of the week there was some general discussion of incidents of theft of merchandise from the arena, and these dyadic informants indicated that they at times felt they were being indirectly suspected or accused. Their behavior style tended to parallel that of the single less acculturated informants: a marked degree of isolation, as a pair.

The more highly acculturated dyad (6-HA and 9-HA) offered a generally favorable report on the work context. While critical of what they viewed as a severe gap between the intensity of work expected and the low wage, they also noted that they enjoyed their Anglo peers and appreciated the "open-mindedness" of most of the crew leaders and managers. They, too, expressed a feeling that they were being watched carefully by their companions, but that such feelings served as a motivation to work even harder and make fewer mistakes.

During and after the job the informants were asked if, given the same work circumstances, they would prefer an Anglo crew boss or manager or a Hispanic individual. All of the singly placed informants indicated that they would expect to be more comfortable with an Anglo boss, preferably someone who is relatively young (between the ages of 25 and 35). The reasons cited included an enhanced trust in the more liberal attitudes of the young, often college educated, Anglo foremen. They also felt that an Anglo boss was in a better position to influence the thinking and behavior of other Anglo crew members; more so than a Hispanic boss. In some important sense it seems that a single Hispanic in a mainstream environment can expect to gain a more secure, less threatened status, when the locus of group power rests with a young Anglo. The informants expressed somewhat less comfort with the idea of a more senior Anglo boss; presumably because a more senior individual is expected to be less tolerant about ethnics.

When the question of foreman preference was posed to the informants who participated as a dyad the responses were quite different. Informants in each dyad indicated that they felt much more conscious of both the positive and negative aspects of their Hispanic identities within their work environment. In the conversations which accompanied the week's work, much attention was called to the fact that they were Mexican-Americans, knew two languages, had close ties with people in Mexico, had specific preferences in clothes, cars, and food, and lived markedly distinct lives in Barrio Logan. Crew members often talked about problems of stereotyping, and exchanged ideas on various topics such as bilingual education and welfare programs in the barrio. The overall effect was to highlight ethnicity. The less acculturated dyad did less of this type of conversational exchange, but considerably more than did the single low-acculturated informants. The less acculturated dyad found this attention more problematic, and indicated that they would prefer a boss who was older and Hispanic. A senior Hispanic, it was felt, would more effectively serve as a screen or buffer from such intense--and, for the Hispanic, unusual-- curiosity. An older individual, it was noted, presumably would have had much more experience in fending off the stereotypes, the inquisitiveness of the Anglos. In addition, an older Hispanic might be more approachable, in the "paternalistic" sense.

The well acculturated Hispanic dyad also reported a preference for a Hispanic boss, but for different reasons. In this case the older Hispanic boss was viewed more as an ideological symbol, a marker of ethnic achievement. The more highly acculturated individuals generally articulated a relatively sophis- ticated ethnic consciousness and pride. This awareness of identity seemed especially enhanced when they were among similarly acculturated, and also less acculturated, Hispanics. Clear expressions of identity were much more prevalent and unambiguous when voiced as part of a dyad's or group's statement. The

preference for a senior Hispanic foreman may be one manifestation of this

consciousness.

Perhaps, more telling, however, in this regard may be a clear hesitancy on

the part of the well-acculturated individuals to wish to work with a junior

Hispanic boss. Specifically, the more acculturated individuals mentioned that

interaction with a similarly aged and similarly socialized Hispanic boss could

lead to unfortunate tension. The idea expressed was that young Hispanics in

such supervisory positions often feel threatened by the peers over whom they

should have control. In the face of such duress, it is thought, many Hispanic

bosses or managers become even more critical, intolerant, and prejudicial,

vis-à-vis other Hispanics, than most Anglo counterparts.

Needless to say, conclusions to be drawn from such a limited "experiment"

or social "testing" are, at best, only suggestive. It is certainly possible

that the ideas expressed by the informants in this setting are the results

mainly of individual personality, and not the products of larger socio-psycholo

psychological processes. However, the ideas expressed by these informants do

seem to coincide with comments and attitudes found among similar respondents

throughout the San Diego barrio. Perhaps the dynamics contained in this sort

of an observational setting could be usefully expanded and more formally tested

and analyzed.

Discussion

This study has several implications for the study of Hispanic (particularly

Mexican-American) ethnic enclaves in the United States, in general, and for

the understanding of the socio-cultural factors relevant to the recruitment of

members of these groups for service in the United States Navy, in particular.

I have attempted to demonstrate some of the historical processes which have

contributed to the highly urbanized character of contemporary Hispanic popula-

tions in the American Southwest. In recognizing the interrelated social move-

ments of "barrioization" and "Americanization" among Mexican-American populations

in California and Texas, I believe that we come closer to specifying which values and attitudes are most pertinent to an understanding of the processes of understanding of the processes of acculturation among these peoples. Further, a long-term ethnographic observation of the central barrio of San Diego offers more fully documented insight into the social, cultural, economic and attitudinal diversity which currently exists among the resident Hispanic population. This diversity can be attributed to a wide variety of migration (immigration) experiences, to geographically broad, and unusually urbanized, loci of origin, to a very intense and steady traffic of new immigrants into, and through, the San Diego barrios, and to a variety of adaptational patterns acquired once the immigrant (and family) is residing in the barrio.

To the extent that more and more of the U.S. Navy's attempts to recruit Hispanics will take place in urban enclaves, this report should have some specific relevance. Although it has been maintained that the most effective recruiting of the most desirable Hispanics for the Navy might take place in the more "mainstream" suburbs of southwestern cities, this report suggests that the inner-city barrios are not to be excluded out-of-hand as sources for qualified and interested personnel. It is the case, however, that the sociocultural and attitudinal mix in the barrio will be much more diverse than in the suburbs. Specific reference has been made in this report to the Cholo phenomenon. While the percentage of young Hispanics in the barrio who actually manifest the attitudinal and behavioral characteristics of this identity is small, the Cholo does seem to be symbolically expressive of a broadly-based sense of caution and wariness among young Hispanics, in general, when dealing with the Anglo-dominated world. Individuals who do subscribe to the Cholo identity are not likely to be the most desirable or qualified potential recruits. Nevertheless, while most well-acculturated Hispanics view the Cholos with some regret, or even disdain, there also exists a certain expressed sense of sympathy and empathy with the individuals who, for whatever combination of

reasons, have not adapted to mainstream expectations and opportunities, especially in the realms of education, employment, and career.

A further implication of this study concerns the work-site training of recruits in the Navy. The work "experiment" described here suggests that (1) a single low-to-moderately acculturated Hispanic working among non-Hispanics is apt to be less critical of the work circumstances, but due to a relatively low level of social interaction might be less capable of learning and assimilating new work-related skills. (2) A single highly acculturated Hispanic will be capable of intense, extended, and productive work-site interaction with a group of non-Hispanics, but is apt to be more critical (than the low acculturated Hispanic) of work organization and management. This type of individual single-ethnic/highly acculturated) might be expected to encounter a higher degree of frustration in the work setting. (3) A work situation in which there are two or more low-to-moderately acculturated Hispanics seems to be characterized by low assimilation, socially and technically, and by a significantly greater willingness to express dissatisfaction, disappointment, frustration, and anger. Apparently, the sharing of identity and experience (positive and negative) increases confidence in--and perhaps even the opportunity for--the verbal expression of perceived personal interests. (4) A dyad of well-acculturated Hispanics seems to offer the most productive potential in a work setting. Unlike the single highly-acculturated individual in a mainstream-dominated group, the Hispanic who is paired with other well-assimilated individuals seems to be quite positive in his perception of employment, skill acquisition, and assessment of his social status within the group. Although the work experiment reported here did not combine low-acculturated with highly-acculturated Hispanics, it may be the case that such a mix could produce favorable technical and social results: the well-assimilated individual might well serve as an important role model and friend for the similarly-aged yet less-acculturated person.

In short, it seems that the Navy might benefit by making special efforts to group Hispanics--highly assimilated with low--particularly in the early stages of post-RTC training. Although many of the Navy's job designations (rates) automatically exclude individuals who are judged to be low-to-moderately acculturated to mainstream expectations, the Navy might do well to examine its personnel structures and organizations with an eye toward keeping low and high acculturated Hispanics in contact with each other as much as possible. The performance and work attitudes of Hispanics does seem to be positively enhanced when they are given the opportunity to regularly interact with each other in goal-oriented projects.

Finally, the conclusions and recommendations made here are clearly of a tentative nature. While I do believe that the ethnological sample gathered in Barrio Logan is quite representative of demographic and cultural reality there, the sample used in the work-site "experiment" can only be viewed as suggestive. Nevertheless, it is clear that an awareness of the origins of Hispanic diversity in the urban enclaves of the United States, and insight into the interactive patterns of groups of Hispanics, can serve to foster more creative and imaginative strategies of human resource management within the Navy.

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Table 1

Summary of Informant Profiles

Notes: 1. Parents' birthplace: In all but two cases mother and father were both born in the same country, hence I have here lumped both parents into the same category.

2. Informant's language skill: In each case, based on lengthy conversations and interviews, I made an assessment of the informant's functional bilingual skills.

3. Parents' language skill: I was unable to meet or converse with the parents of all informants, so I relied on the evaluations of the informants. In a few instances an informant did note that his mother's and father's language abilities were different, and in a more detailed study this difference might be significant and telling. But in this case I decided to assume no major differences between parents' skills.

4. Household socioeconomic status: Based on visits to some homes and on informant descriptions of others, I evaluated factors of income, expenditure, home ownership, employment histories of household members, and made the marginal/stable/ middle-class distinctions.

5. Informant education: Most of the informants I met in or near Loagan High School, hence the data may be skewed in terms of education participation. In fact the drop-out rate may be significantly higher in this age group. I cannot here evaluate the relationship between the Mexican-American's school attendance and quality of learning, but it is assumed that the longer an individual remains within the school system and environment the more he is apt to have academic and socialization skills.

6. Informant acculturation assessment: My evaluation of an individual's degree of acculturation of mainstream American culture is clearly subjective and interpretive. However, after several months of fieldwork in the community and extended time with the informants, I felt that I was able to judge facility with which they dealt with Anglo-controlled organizations and with Anglos, and the degree to which their personal, social, and technical abilities would allow them to participate in the mainstream lifestyle.

Table 1: Summary of Informant Profiles

Informant's #	Age	Informant's yrs. living in U.S.	Informant's Birthplace U.S.	Informant's Birthplace Mexico	Father's Birthplace U.S.	Father's Birthplace Mexico	Informant's Generation in U.S.	Informant's Language Skill Bi-	Informant's Language Skill Mono: English	Informant's Language Skill Mono: Spanish	Father's Language Skill Bi-	Father's Language Skill Mono: English	Father's Language Skill Mono: Spanish	Informant's Work Employed in barrio	Informant's Work Employed out of barrio	Informant's Work Unemployed	Household SES Marginal	Household SES Stable	Household SES Middle-class	Informant's Education Grades 1-8	Informant's Education Grades 9-12	Informant's Education School drop-out	Current Residence barrio Logan	Current Residence barrio other	Current Residence Mainstream San Diego	Household Organization Parents nuclear family	Household Organization Parents extended family	Household Organization Other	Informant's Acculturant Assessment Low	Informant's Acculturant Assessment Moderate	Informant's Acculturant Assessment Middle-class
1	17	17	x			x	1st	x			x					x		x			x		x			x				x	
2	19	19	x			x	1st	x			x			x				x			x		x					x		x	
3	17	17	x		x		2nd	x			x					x		x			x				x			x			x
4	15	15	x			x	1st			x			x			x	x			x				x		x			x		
5	20	20	x		x		3rd		x		x				x	x			x		x		x			x					x
6	20	20	x		x		2nd		x		x					x		x				x		x			x				x
7	17	17	x			x	1st	x					x		x	x	x					x			x			x		x	
8	25	25	x			x	2nd		x		x					x		x			x			x		x					x
9	18	18	x		x		3rd	x	x				x				x				x		x					x			
10	19	19	x			x	1st	x			x				x	x		x					x				x				x
11	20	20	x			x	3rd			x			x						x			x	x			x			x		
12	16	16	x			x	1st	x			x			x	x	x	x				x			x			x				x
13	18	18	x			x	1st	x					x					x		x	x		x				x			x	
14	18	8		x		x	1st	x					x			x		x				x	x				x		x		
15	18	6		x		x	1st	x					x					x		x						x			x		
16	19	9		x		x	1st			x	x			x	x						x		x				x			x	
17	19	13		x	x		1st			x	x					x	x					x	x					x	x		
18	17	9		x		x	1st	x					x			x		x				x	x				x		x		
19	17	2		x		x	1st			x			x			x	x								x		x			x	
20	18	16		x		x	1st			x			x			x					x		x			x					
21	17	5		x		x	1st	x								x		x					x			x			x		
22	23	21		x		x	1st			x			x			x	x	x				x	x					x		x	x
			13	9	7	15	1st	11	4	7	12	0	10	3	5	14	8	11	3	3	12	7	14	5	3	9	8	5	7	8	6

Table 2: Hispanic Worker Sample

Informant's #	Acculturant Assessment: Low	Acculturant Assessment: Moderate	Acculturant Assessment: Middle-class	Age	Informant's yrs living in U.S.	Informant's Birthplace: U.S.	Informant's Birthplace: Mexico	Father's Birthplace: U.S.	Father's Birthplace: Mexico	Informant's generation in U.S.	Informant's Language Skill: Bi-	Informant's Language Skill: Mono: English	Informant's Language Skill: Mono: Spanish	Father's Language Skill: Bi-	Father's Language Skill: Mono: English	Father's Language Skill: Mono: Spanish	Informant's Work: Employed In barrio	Informant's Work: Employed Out of barrio	Informant's Work: Unemployed	Household SES: Marginal	Household SES: Stable	Household SES: Middle-class	Informant's Education: Grades 1-8	Informant's Education: Grades 9-12	Informant's Education: School drop-out	Current Residence: Barrio Logan	Current Residence: Other barrio	Current Residence: Mainstream San Diego	Household Organization: Parents nuclear family	Household Organization: Parents extended family	Household Organization: Other
1		x		17	17	x			x	1st	x			x					x		x			x		x			x		
7		x		17	17	x			x	1st	x					x			x	x					x	x					x
12	x			16	16	x			x	1st	x					x			x	x				x		x			x		
20		x		15	14		x		x	1st	x			x					x		x			x				x		x	
3			x	17	17	x		x		2nd	x			x					x		x			x				x			x
6			x	20	20	x		x		2nd		x		x					x		x			x	x		x			x	
9			x	18	18	x		x		3rd		x		x					x		x			x			x				x

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